/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

584 132. "When their daughters have a fiancé or suitor, their parents observe in silence," (I continue copying from Ernesto) "and if they see that he not a very good worker and they don't like his behavior, they say so to their daughter, but in such a way that the fiancé hears it; this makes them despondent and to reflect. But also sometimes they visit each other at night without the parents finding out about it."

584 576 From what has just been said it can be deduced with how much reason the clearest manifestation that an Indian can make to a girl with whom he is in love or to a mother that he is in love with her daughter is to give them presents of game and fish. And the acceptance of these and, especially, the preparing and serving of them is a manifest sign of accepting his love or at least that he may court her. For the same reason it is not accepted as a rule of morality and of etiquette that an Indian girl should offer drink and food to anybody who is not her husband or her declared and accepted fiancé. How well does the proverb say that "gifts crack rocks!"

585 133. Marriage does not have any special ceremony; it is simply what is noted in Pimentel's account, which we shall copy later.

583 But after the union has taken place, the most generous Indians (and there are no lack of the other sort) usually remain for some time almost as though they were laborers for their parents-in-law, paying in some way for the delights and abilities of the beloved wife rather than the parents-in-law

/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helí: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
● 581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
● [581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there